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GANDHARA SCULPTURE FROM PAKISTAN MUSEUMS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An exhibition of Gandhāra sculpture brought to the United States under the auspices of the Asia Society, Inc. During its stay in America, the exhibition will be circulated by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, and will be shown at the following museums:

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MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, Boston

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ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, Toronto

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FOREWORD *This publication represents the most comprehensive exhibition of Gandhara sculpture ever brought to America. It includes sixty-five free-standing and relief sculptures dating from the 2nd-5th centuries A.D., when the flourishing Buddhist colonies in Gandhara created some of the first representations of the Buddha in human form.*

The Asia Society is greatly indebted to the Government of Pakistan for the loan of these national treasures, and special thanks are due the Pakistan Committee of the Asia Society for their negotiations. We should like to express our gratitude to His Excellency Aziz Ahmed, the Ambassador of Pakistan, to Mr. S. M. Haq, Press Attaché of the Pakistan Embassy in Washington, and to the Honorable K. M. Kaiser, Consul General of Pakistan in New York. Their assistance in every phase of the arrangements has been invaluable.

Our sincere appreciation is also due to Professor Benjamin Rowland of the Fogg Museum, Harvard University, whose introduction contributes so much to our understanding and appreciation. His name has long been associated with the study of Gandhara, and his insight into the chronology and meaning of this early Buddhist art is invaluable to the scholar and the layman. We are grateful for his distinguished services.

Paul C. Sherbert
Executive Director
The Asia Society, New York, 1960

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"Sakyamuni's First Meeting with a Brahmin", late 1st century, fine-grained schist, 15½ x 19½, Peshawar Museum

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The Art of Gandhāra

A little more than one hundred years ago the discoveries of a little band of adventurers and dedicated scholars who penetrated the savage and dangerous wastes of Afghanistan first introduced to the Western world the famous coins of the Bactrian Greeks and fragments of the so-called Graeco-Buddhist sculpture of Gandhāra, carvings which in that romantic age of archaeology were thought to display the influence of the great Macedonian conqueror and the Hellenism he introduced to the Orient.

Gandhāra, a term now used to describe the school of semiclassical sculpture of Pakistan and Afghanistan in the early centuries of our era, is the name of an ancient province and kingdom which, in Classical times, was limited to a small region west of the Indus river, the territory northwest of Peshawar comprising the hilly districts of Swat and Buner, bounded on the north by the hills, and on the south and west respectively by the Kabul and Swat rivers. The art to which this region gives its name has its affiliations, as will be revealed below, with Rome rather than Greece. Actually the art of Gandhāra extended beyond the geographical limits of the ancient province, so that, for our purposes, the boundaries of Gandhāra in this artistic sense may be extended to include the Kabul valley and the territories south of the Hindu Kush mountains and north of the Punjab. Remains have been found as far north as the Oxus river and at the ancient city of Taxila south of the Indus.

Gandhāra was originally a province of the Iranian Empire of the Achaemenids, and its territories marked the eastern limit of the conquest of Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. Rejoined to India under the Maurya Dynasty, it was the object of intensive missionary activity by the famous Buddhist emperor Aśoka. His inscriptions have been found at Shahbhazgarhi in the Peshawar district and, more recently, in the vicinity of Kandahar in southern Afghanistan. The early rules of Gandhāra also included the Indo-Greek descendants of Alexander's captains. With the disintegration of the Greek dynasties the Śakas, a Scythian horde of Central Asian origin, established themselves in Gandhāra about the 1st century B.C. A dynasty in some way related to the Parthian rulers of Iran was established in Taxila as late as the 1st century A.D. These Parthians were driven out in turn by another Scythian horde, the Yüeh-chih, from northwest China, who under the name of their most powerful tribe, the Kushans, became masters of Gandhāra about 50 A.D. The first or Great Kushan dynasty was brought to an end by an invasion from Sasanian Iran either under Ardashir or Shapur I between 225 and 250 A.D. This débâcle appears to have brought to an end also the great creative period of Gandhāra art. The history of Gandhāra after the Sasanian conquest is rather obscure. After a period of interregnum it seems that a lesser Kushan dynasty

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established itself south of the Khyber Pass, whereas the northern territories continued under Sasanian rule. The final blow to Gandhāra and its civilization was the invasion by the White Huns in the 5th century A.D.

Although Buddhism was introduced to Gandhāra as early as Maurya times, it was not until the advent of the Kushans that the region assumed an important place in the history of Buddhism and its art. Although not specifically associated with the Buddha's mortal career, Gandhāra gained a special renown for sanctity through the assignment of many of the locales of Śākyamuni's earlier incarnations—the renunciations and martyrdoms of the Jātaka tales—to sites in this region. There is no reason to suppose that the first Kushan sovereigns, Kujula and Wima Kadphises, were even Buddhists. But their successor, Kanishka, is remembered as one of the great patrons of the religion, a second Aśoka, who turned Gandhāra into a veritable holy land of Buddhism. Kanishka convened the Fourth Buddhist Council, and it is generally believed that the Buddhism of the Great Vehicle made its appearance under his reign and patronage.

The dates of Kanisha's reign, all important for the chronology of Gandhāra and its art, are still the subject of dispute among scholars. The earliest date suggested for the beginning of the king's reign is 78 A.D., a year that presumably had marked the beginning of a new Śaka era; 143 A.D., has been proposed by René Ghirshmann, reckoning from the fact that Kanishka's dynasty lasted 98 years and came to an end with the Sasanian invasion of 241 A.D. The beginning of Kanishka's reign is placed at 125 or 128 A.D. by Sir John Marshall, one of the most famous directors of the Archaeological Survey of India and excavator of the city of Taxila. The fact that some of the earliest and most classical of Gandhāra sculptures can be dated in the late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. makes it tempting to revert to the earliest chronology for Kanishka's reign, a chronology which is also supported by the corroboration of Chinese sources.[1]

We owe a great deal of our knowledge of Gandhāra and its art to the accounts of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who have left very full descriptions of their travels to its sacred sites. These records include the story of Fa Hsien's journey in ca. 400 A.D., the journey of Sung Yün in the 6th century, when Gandhāra was under the yoke of the Huns, and the most detailed of all the histories, Hsüan Tsang's *Hsi Yü Chi, Records of the Western Countries*, composed in the early 7th century.[2] Even when Hsüan Tsang visited the region, Gandhāra was a stronghold of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The pilgrim mentions five schools of the Little Vehicle, but some of these, like the eclectic Sarvāstivādin sect, were transitional to the Great Vehicle; so that even such a confirmed Mahāyānist as Hsüan Tsang found their teaching congenial. In these centuries of transition it may be supposed that the line of demarcation between the tenets of the Little and Great Vehicles was never very closely drawn in the Buddhism practised in Gandhāra and its art.

The first examples of Gandhāra art came to the attention of the scholarly world through chance finds of an amateur exploration early in the 19th century.

Of the examples of Gandhāra sculpture in the present collection hardly more than a handful can be assigned to known sites in the old classical province.[3] This is only one of the many difficulties confronting the scholar attempting

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to date and to classify this material. Many of the most famous pieces, such as the series of reliefs formerly installed in the mess hall of the Queen's Own Guides at Hoti Mardan, are alleged to have come from Buner and presumably accidentally uncovered in the course of engineering work undertaken by the corps. But information of this kind is of little use, since both the location of the finds and the condition of the excavations must remain a complete mystery. The fragments from the famous ancient city of Taxila, were all excavated with relatively scientific exactitude under the direction of the famous archaeologist, Sir John Marshall. These pieces (page 46) come from the Parthian and Early Kushan strata, so that according to Sir John Marshall's chronology it is possible to date them in the 1st and early 2nd centuries A.D. A few other objects, notably the beautiful head of a Bodhisattva (page 47), were unearthed at Chārsada nearly 60 years ago. This famous site near Peshawar, which has been the object of recent excavations directed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler,[4] was the ancient Pushkalāvati, besieged by Alexander in 327 B.C. and

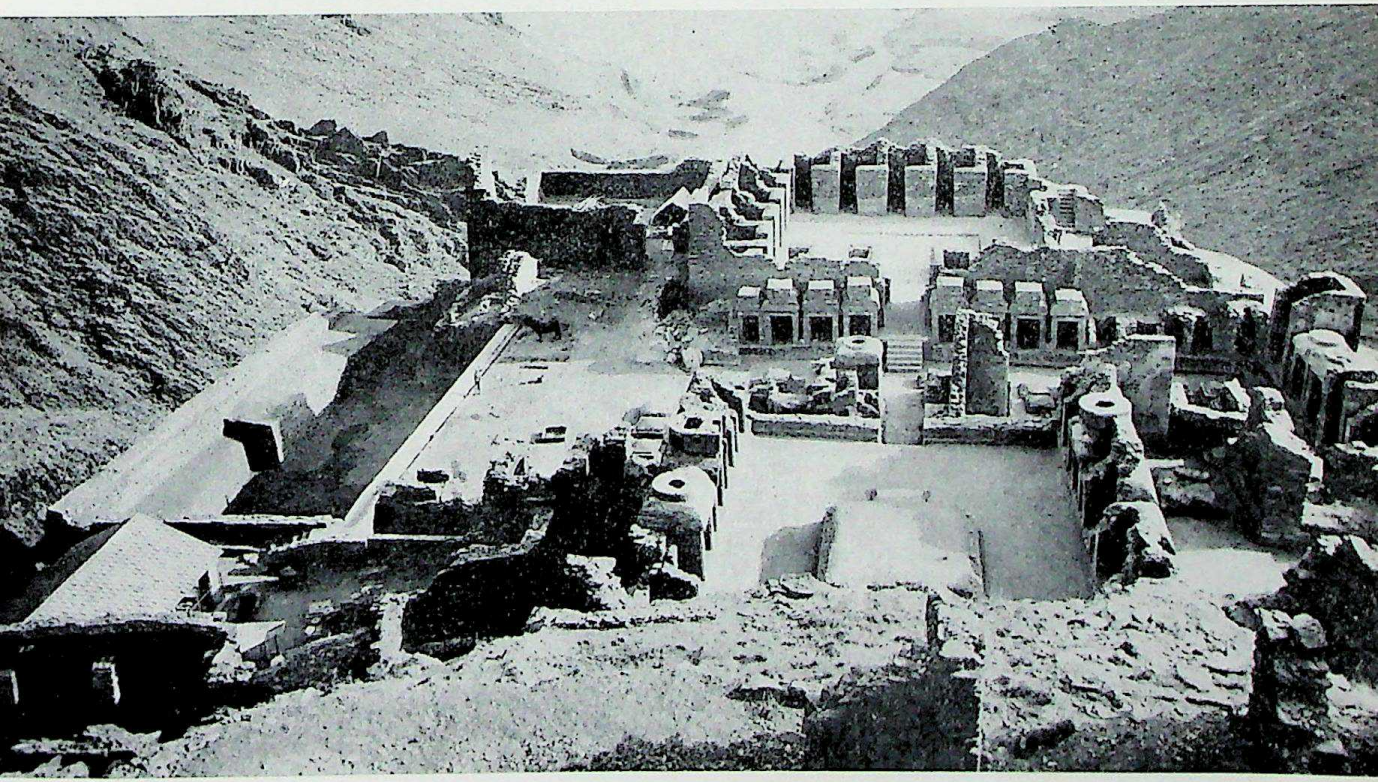

Fig. 2: Monastery of Takht-i-Behi near Peshawar, Pakistan

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famous in the later Buddhist annals of the region. Another famous site represented by the remarkable portrait head of a doner (page 9), is Sāhri Bahlol, again in the region of Peshawar. The excavations conducted there early in the present century determine nothing about the chronology of this monastic establishment, but the predominantly classical quality of these sculptures recovered indicates that they must belong to the period of the strongest Roman influence in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries A.D. Sikri is another famous Gandhāra site, located in the wild and remote tribal territory north of Mardan. It was one of the first to be excavated or plundered in the late 19th century.

History of Gandhāra Art

The history of art in Gandhāra has been linked with the classical world since the conquest of this ancient province by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. From Alexander's death until the 1st century B.C. the region was under the dominion of the Macedonian successors in the ancient Bactria. The rule of these Hellenistic captains was too unstable to make for the introduction of a monumental art. Beyond the perpetuation of the Greek language as a kind of *lingua franca,* the contribution of the Bactrian Greeks appears to reside entirely in their magnificent coinage. Alexander's descendants were driven out of Bactria and ultimately dispossessed of their final strongholds in the Kabul valley and the territories south of the Khyber Pass by the Śakas, a barbarian horde of Scythian origin, who in the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. had political as well as cultural relations with the Parthian empire of Iran. It was in this period that examples of Greek architecture and even sculpture of the Hellenistic type made their appearance at Taxila and elsewhere.

The great period of art in Gandhāra coincides with the reign of the Kushan Dynasty. These people of Scythian origin made themselves masters of Gandhāra in the 1st century A.D. The whole character of Gandhāra art was very evidently determined by the commercial and diplomatic relations between the Kushan rulers and the Roman world.[5] Beginning with Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.) the emperors received embassies from the Kushan realm. These exchanges continued through the reigns of Trajan (98-117) and Hadrian (117-138) and into the Antonine period (138-180). The discovery of many precious objects of Alexandrian and Syrian workmanship at Taxila in the Punjab and Begram in the Kabul valley testifies to the cultural connection with the Graeco-Roman West.[6] With the demand for imagery following on the Kushans' patronage of Buddhism there was undoubtedly an import of artisans from the Roman East. Indeed, from the point of view of types, techniques, and even iconography the sculpture of Gandhāra might be regarded as a provincial Roman school. The content is, of course, Buddhist, just as the subject matter of early Christian art in Rome and the East is Christian; but it is presented in the same terms used for embodying the concepts of pagan cults. The Gandhāra sculptors introduced many themes from classical sources, such as tritons, centaurs, and atlantids, but these mythological forms are employed in a decorative rather than a devotional way. It is possible, of course, that the famous statue of Athena or Roma (page 10) may have been a cult image of a classical divinity, a single surviving example in sculpture of the pantheon of foreign gods that appears in Kushan coinage.[7] Another undoubted contribution of Roman art

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Portrait of a Donor,
2nd-3rd century
schist, 11½ x 7⅛.
Peshawar Museum

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Athena, or Roma,
2nd century,
fine-grained schist,
height: 32¾″
Lahore, Central Museum

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to Gandhāra was the portrait represented on page 9 in the present volume.

The material principally used for Gandhāra sculpture was a bluish slate known as chalicose schist. Some of the finer examples were carved from a green phyllite and a variety of steatite or soapstone. Originally the stone sculptures were painted and gilded. They were specifically designed to be placed in niches on stupas or monastic buildings, such as the chapels at Takht-i-Bāhi, (Fig. 2.) Some of the reliefs like that shown on page 50 fulfilled the decorative function of false windows, and the long horizontal panels illustrated on page 42 were used as stair risers. In addition to stone, lime plaster was a popular medium, especially during the later centuries of the Gandhāra school's existence. The lime plaster or stucco was reinforced with such binding media as small stones, animal hair, and straw. The material was worked both freehand and shaped with moulds. Stucco was generally reserved for the heads of images, the bodies of which were fashioned in mud or clay covered with only a thin layer of gypsum plaster. The statues and reliefs, as well as the architectural decorations carried out in stucco, were all originally brilliantly colored.

The Buddha Image

The greatest contribution of Gandhāra to the art of Asia was the invention of the Buddha image. The first anthropomorphic representation of the Great Teacher was probably related to the emergence of the devotional sects of Buddhism and their demand for the portrayal of the object of worship in an accessible human form in place of the entirely symbolic portrayals of the master in the art of early Hinayāna Buddhism. The processes of deification leading to the Buddha's representation in human form were already at work in the early Buddhist period. Although in the first sutras Śākyamuni is a man, he is something more than that, since in his knowledge, enlightenment, and self-mastery he is already superhuman. On occasions his supernatural nature is revealed directly in miracles. It was an easy transition from the veneration felt for this supernatural person to worship the Buddha as a divinity. Already in the *Lalita Vistara,* probably composed in the 2nd century A.D., the Buddha appears as an exalted, more than human being. In Gandhāra art the Buddha is represented as a man wearing the monastic garment and usually endowed with such marks of Buddhahood as the *usnisa* or cranial protuberance and the *urna* or mark between the brows. The halo attached to Buddha images in Gandhāra would seem to point to his deification, although there is no precise way of determining whether these statues represent the supernatural teacher of some of the most advanced Hīnayāna sects or whether they are intended to portray the divinized Śākyamuni of the Great Vehicle.

The anthropomorphic representation of demigods, such as the *yakśas* and *nāgas* of the early Indian schools of art, and the influence of the anthropomorphic tradition in the religion and art of Greece and Iran were additional factors contributing to the appearance of the Buddha image. The Kushan period was one of dominant Roman influence and it may even be that the precedent of representations of the deified Roman emperor may have exercised an influence on the portrayal of the divine Buddha in human form.[8] The fact that the doctrine of the Great Vehicle in sutras like the *Lalita Vistara* stressed the miraculous life and person of Buddha, rather than his words, gave a new em-

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phasis to representations of scenes from his life. The best evidence would seem to indicate that the earliest representations of Śākyamuni in human form were created simultaneously at Mathurā and in Gandhāra in the late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. Except for those seeking a chauvinistic priority for an Indian craftsman, it is immaterial whether or not the first Buddha statue was made in Gandhāra or in an Indian workshop. The representations of the Buddha on the coins of King Kanishka may be taken as an indication that statues of Śākyamuni were made in Kanishka's reign or shortly before, since the Buddha type portrayed on these issues is obviously an imitation of a statue of the Gandhāra type.[9]

The standing Buddha image in Gandhāra is not so much an imitation as an adaptation of Western types and techniques by the Roman or Syrian artisans who were called upon to produce these icons. Typical of the very earliest type of Buddha image was a beautiful statue formerly at Hoti Mardan. (fig. 3) The head was apparently suggested by the youthful type of the Apollo Belvedere. The heavy, plastically conceived folds of the drapery, revealing the body, and yet existing as an independent volume, suggest the garments of Roman draped figures from the Claudian through the Flavian periods (ca. 40-100 A.D.)[10] Another early example is illustrated on page 13. The head, although somewhat more schematized than its classical prototype, seems again to derive from the type of the Apollo Belvedere. Such a relationship is also evident in the beautiful head from Chārsada (page 47), as well as in two other heads of Buddha (pages 48 and 49).[11] The drapery of the standing figure from Lahore (page 13) immediately suggests the toga of Roman imperial statues. The folds of the gar-

Fig. 3: Buddha, 1st century, (formerly in the Guides Mess, Hoti Mardan, Pakistan)

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Standing Buddha
2nd century
schist, height: 55½″
Lahore, Central Museum

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ment are conventionalized into sharp parallel ridges, a technique that recalls Roman sculpture of the Antonine and Severid periods; so that this example must date from the later 2nd century A.D. The rather stiff linear formalization of the skirt of this statue has many parallels in the adaptations of Roman sculpture in Parthia and Palmyra.[12] The sculptors of the Gandhāra Buddhas were never very orthodox in their representation of the magic marks distinguishing the Buddhist person, so that generally a topknot of wavy hair or *krobylos,* borrowed from Apollo, is as here used to disguise the usnisa, that enlargement of the skull, which was the seat of the Buddha's cosmic consciousness. It is obvious, of course, that the Gandhāra Buddha image, resulting from the combination of the Apollo head and the body of the togaed Roman senator, was inevitably a very humanistic one that in the final analysis was not entirely appropriate for revealing the conception of Śākyamuni as a reflection of the supreme reality. Actually, the whole later development of the Buddha image in Gandhāra, and indeed throughout the East, is away from this Hellenic conception in terms of idealized and individualized material beauty towards a more abstract figuration in accord with Indian tradition and essentially more appropriate for expressing the immaterial spiritual reality of the Buddha. Already in the Buddha images of the late 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. the figures become rigidly frontal and the drapery entirely schematized. This style seems to illustrate the same reversion to ancient Oriental ideals of frontality and formalized linear representations that may be noted in the history of the sculpture of Palmyra. It is worth noting that this final step in the development of the Gandhāra Buddha furnished the model for representations of Śākyamuni in Central Asia and China in the 4th and 5th centuries, when with an even further removal from the classical source the figure style became completely schematized and antinaturalistic.

In even later examples, such as the Buddhas from the Begram region in Afghanistan, the robe is only schematically symbolized by a series of stringlike loops descending down the median line of the body. (fig. 4) The representation of

Fig. 4: "Buddha of the Great Miracle", from Begram, 3rd-4th century, Museum, Kabul, Afghanistan

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the figure has become entirely frontal, and the bodily proportion is in a ratio of five heads to the total stature, a canon approximating the debased Roman figure sculpture of the 4th century and later. This style appears to illustrate the same reversion to ancient Oriental ideals of frontality and formalized linear representation that may be noted in the history of the sculpture of Palmyra. Indeed, the method of representing drapery is so close that a continuing influence from this late center of Roman provincial art may perhaps be assumed. It is worth noting that this final step in the development of the Gandhāra Buddha furnished the model for representations of Śākyamuni in Central Asia and China in the 4th and 5th centuries when, with an even further removal from the classic source, the figure style became completely schematized and anti-naturalistic. These late Gandhāra Buddhas, with their simplication of the drapery to a network of cords, must be behind the employment of this same formula as a wonderfully rhythmic linear pattern in the Buddhas of the Gupta period from Mathurā, which made a perfect synthesis of classic and Indian ideals.

Just as the statue of the deified Roman Emperor may have influenced the anthropomorphic representation of Buddha, so the classical cult of the colossal that began to manifest itself in the giant effigies of Nero and Constantine certainly has a reflection in the giant images of Bāmiyān in Afghanistan. These two colossal statues, respectively 120 and 175 feet high, were carved out of the sandstone cliff and covered with a heavy layer of mud and plaster originally painted and gilded. The 120-foot colossus is an enlargement of a typical Gandhāra Buddha of the 2nd century A.D. (fig. 5) The larger 175-foot statue, with its drapery arranged in string-like folds, corresponds to the late phase of Gandhāra sculpture. (fig. 6) The purpose in fashioning these immense statutes was partly for show and partly to symbolize by these gigantic dimensions the concept of the universal Buddha as equivalent to the cosmos itself.

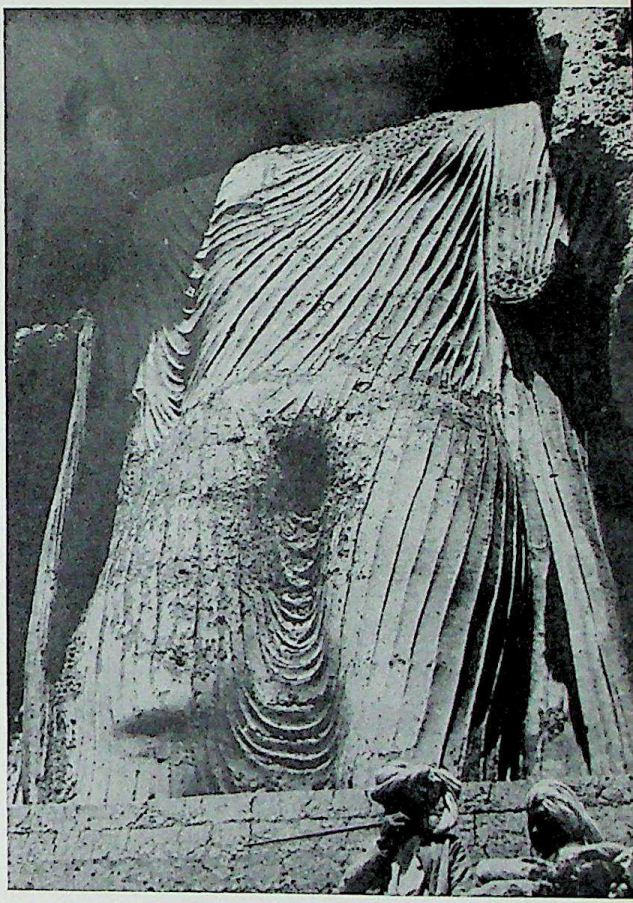

Fig. 5: Buddha (120'), 2nd-3rd century, Bamiyan, Afghanistan

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The reason for the appearance of these colossi is given by Hsüan Tsang, who tells us that Bāmiyān was a stronghold of the Lokottaravādins, one of the sects emphasizing the more than mortal nature of the Buddha. Both of the giant statues were iconographically complemented by the painted decoration of their niches. Around the top of the niche of the 120-foot Buddha are painted the Seven Buddhas of the Past, Maitreya, and, on the soffit of the vault, a solar deity as an allegory of the coming of these Tathāgatas as suns to illuminate the world.[13] The niche of the 175-foot Buddha was once completely painted with multiple figures of Buddhas symbolizing the myriad mind-made emanations of the Buddha of the *Lotus Sutra* or Vairocana in the *Avatamsaka.*

No less important than the development of the standing Buddha image in Gandhāra was the origin in this school of the Buddha seated in yoga posture. The type may be illustrated by the Buddha who appears in the reliefs on pages 17 and 31. In this case the foreign craftsmen were at a total loss to find a Graeco-Roman prototype for a personage seated with his legs folded under him. As a result an attempt was made to disguise the legs locked in the *padmāsana* under the voluminous drapery of a standing figure. More often than not, the seated Gandhāra Buddhas give the impression of a truncated torso set on completely disconnected and loglike legs. As may be seen on page 17, the fold of drapery that in earlier examples indicated the right foot in front of the left knee soon became conventionalized into a meaningless flamelike design. The development of the seated Buddha type is the same as that illustrated by the standing figures, with an ever-increasing tendency towards the disintegration and abstraction of the form.

Fig. 6: Buddha (175'), 3rd century, Bamiyan, Afghanistan

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"The Offering of the Four Bowls", early 2nd century, schist, 9⅛ x 10⅝, Lahore, Central Museum

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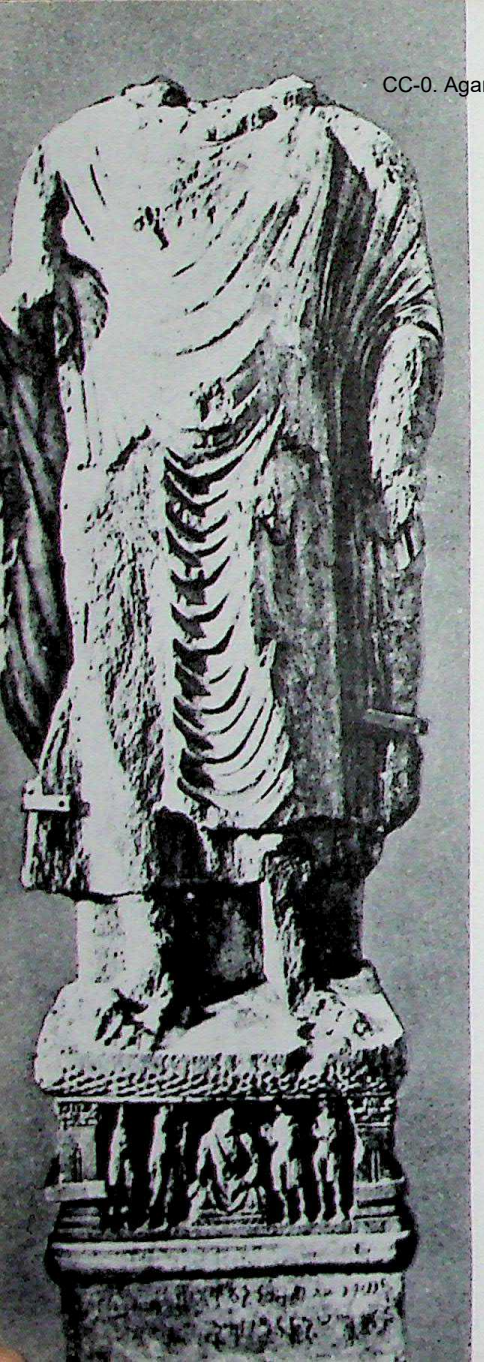

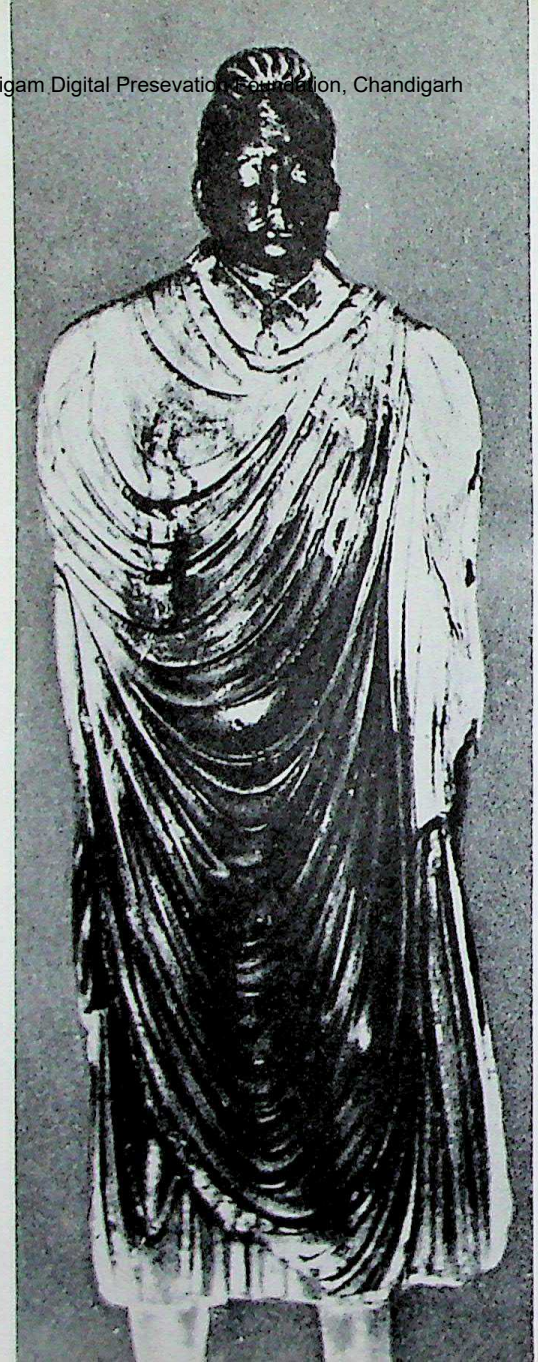

Fig. 7a:
Buddha, from
Loriyan Tangai,
Indian Museum,
Calcutta

Fig. 7b.
Buddha, from
Charsada,
Hashtnagar,
Pakistan

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There are a number of Buddhist statues with inscriptions dating them in an unspecified era. For example, statues from Loriyān Tangai and Chārsada are dated in the years 318 and 384 (figs. 7A & 7B).[14] The use of these inscriptions as a foundation for a chronology has proved a veritable quicksand for students of Gandhāra art, for the simple reason that the era in which these years are reckoned remains an unknown factor. Actually, the comparison of the style of these images with dateable examples of Roman sculpture provides the only method for arriving at a chronology. The drapery of these particular statues is conventionalized into sharp parallel ridges and appears to be derived from Roman sculpture of the Antonine and Severid Periods; so that these Buddhas must date from no earlier than the late 2nd century A.D. From this it might be possible to conclude that a Śaka era, beginning in ca. 150 B.C., is the one referred to in these inscriptions, since this reckoning would enable us to date these figures in 168 and 234 A.D. respectively. It is to be noted that these images already reveal a conventionalization of earlier Buddha statues, such as that on page 13, which was probably made in the early 2nd century A.D.

Reliquaries

Important for any discussion of Gandhāra sculpture is the famous reliquary of Bīmarān in the British Museum. This gold circular box studded with rubies was found in 1840 by Charles Masson in a stupa at Bīmarān in Afghanistan. (fig. 8) The fact that coins of the Śaka king Azes were found associated with the casket has led some scholars to attribute this object to the 1st century B.C. But actually the coins could have been inserted at any time subsequent to their minting as tribute for the relics. Around the drum of the little box runs an arcade which encloses a repeated group of four figures of the Buddha flanked by three worshippers, perhaps including Indra and Brahma. The style of the drapery of these figures is related to such stone examples as the Buddhas from Loriyān-Tangai and Chārsada from the late 2nd century A.D. The motif of figures in an arcade is a definite borrowing from a device of Roman sculpture that makes its first appearance in Roman Asiatic sarcophagi of the 2nd century A.D. Accordingly the Bīmarān reliquary is only the smaller metal equivalent of the stone Gandhāra sculpture in the finest period of its development.[15]

Fig. 8: Reliquary from Bimaran, 2nd-3rd century, British Museum, Calcutta

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No less famous is the reliquary of Kanishka, found in the ruins of the famous stupa-pagoda erected by that monarch at the site of Shāh-jī-kī-dherī near Peshawar. (fig. 9)[16] The Kanishka reliquary is a metal box in the shape of a pyxis surmounted by freestanding figures of the Buddha and two Bodhisattvas on lotuses mounted on the lid. Around the side of the lid and the drum of the box are two zones of ornament comprising *hamsa* and erotes carrying a garland. On one side of the box appears the statue of the divinized Kanishka flanked by the sun and moon. There is also a very mutilated inscription, sometimes translated as referring to the first year of Kanishka's reign. More certain is the reading of the dedication by the Sarvāstivādins and the name of the maker, Agisela, perhaps a craftsman of Greek origin. Although the Kanishka reliquary has sometimes been presented as an example of an archaic linear stage in the development of Gandhāra art, its style is actually a miniature version of the debased and misunderstood copies of Gandhāra statues made at Mathurā in the 2nd century A.D. and later, so that presumably it may have been dedicated by Kanishka II, who may be placed in the late 2nd century A.D.

Fig. 9: Reliquary of King Kanishka, late 2nd century, Peshawar Museum

The Bodhisattva Image

In Mahāyāna Buddhism there appears the ideal of the Bodhisattva, a being capable of achieving Nirvāna, but renouncing this goal in order to save mankind. The term may also be applied to Siddhārtha or Śākyamuni before his attainment of Buddahood. The workshops of Gandhāra also produced a type of Bodhisattva image. A great many of these statues are undoubtedly portrayals of Prince Siddhārtha appropriately dressed in the finery of a contemporary rajah both as a reference to his early princely life and as an emblem of the Buddha's temporal power as a world ruler or *Cakravartin.* From the point of view of costume these images seem to have prototypes in the earlier Indian portrayals of the *yakshas* and gate guardians represented as rajahs at Sāñchī and Bhārhut. It is possible that some of these figures (pages 21 and 22), may be representations of royal donors. The dress consists of a skirt or dhoti, a turban, and jewelled torques, necklaces, and armlets decorating the nude torso. The drapery (page 21), clinging to the legs in closely pleated folds, suggests many possible early Hellenic prototypes such as survived in Rome of the Augustan

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Statuette of a Bodhisattva,
perhaps Siddartha,
2nd-3rd century, schist
18⅛ x 7½
Lahore, Central Museum

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Bodhisattva, 2nd century
schist, 40⅛ x 15
Lahore, Central Museum

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period. Usually, as on page 22, the drapery of the skirt in these statues is arranged in a series of stiff folds archaistic in appearance, like the swallowtail mannerism of Graeco-Roman archaistic sculpture.[17] Although the soft fullness of the modelling of the body on page 21 seems Indian in character, more usually the nude anatomy is modelled with the same smooth suppression of the muscular structure that is so familiar in Roman statues of the Antonine period.

Although many of these richly caparisoned images are portrayals of Siddhārtha or royal patrons in the guise of the Prince, others hearing such attributes as the *lota* or water bottle in the left hand are to be recognized as the earliest representations of the future Buddha Maitreya, who of course remains a Bodhisattva until his attainment of Enlightenment. As in the case of the Buddha image, the Gandhāra Bodhisattva types furnish the models for the representation of these personifications of Buddhist powers for later Indian art, as well as for the art of the Far East.

Gandhāra Reliefs

Just as Roman sculpture served the purposes of the state by extolling the virtues of the emperor in a series of panels recording his achievements, so Gandhāra sculpture heroized the career of the Buddha for the glory of the Kushan state and its church. It followed the Roman device of dividing Śākyamuni's life story into a number of separate scenes, just as the life of the Emperor Trajan is presented in a succession of panels on his arch at Benevento.[17] The scenes chosen for illustration in the Gandhāra reliefs are not only the Eight Great Events often related in symbolical fashion in earlier sculpture, but a whole sequence of lesser episodes and miracles drawn from such sources as the *Lalita Vistara* and the *Parinirvāna sūtra.* The staging of these events, in which the Buddha always appears in human form, provided a whole series of iconographical and compositional formulae for the narration of the Buddha story that exercised an influence on all later treatments of the subject.

The content of the Gandhāra reliefs, with the exception of a few classical subjects, is the life of Buddha. It is notable that the sources for these illustrations appear to be the *Lalita Vistara* and the *Mahāvastu,* the texts stressing the miraculous aspects of the Buddha legend, which marked the transition from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna Buddhism. One of the great contributions of the Gandhāra school to later Buddhist art was the development of a continuous cycle of events fixing the iconography of the Buddha's career in a certain number of scenes, just as in Roman art and, following this precedent, in Early Christian art the hero's life was narrated in a logical sequence of separate panels with the figure of the Emperor, Christ, or the Buddha dominating each scene. This method, which may properly be called historical relief, replaces the old method of continuous narration, in which a number of episodes were included in the same scene. Just as the artists of the early Christian period devised a number of compositions for certain themes from the life of Christ, presented, as one would expect, in the artistic vocabulary of pagan art, the school of Gandhāra created a set of standard illustrations for the Buddha story. These compositions are more or less original inventions with borrowings of certain types and techniques from Roman sculpture.

We are probably justified in assuming that the invention of the Buddha image preceded the introduction of the Buddha in human form

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"The Offering of Grass", late 1st century, schist, height: 15⅝", Peshawar Museum

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into the relief panels, since in every case the figures appearing in the reliefs seem to be imitated from statues. It will be noted, for example, that in the reliefs of the Nirvāna, as on page 51 in the present publication, the reclining Buddha is simply a standing image placed on its side and with the drapery folds arranged as for a standing figure.

The chronology of relief sculpture in Gandhāra can be determined approximately by comparisons in both classical and Indian art.[18] The earliest Gandhāra reliefs would appear to be a series of panels formerly in the Guides' Mess at Hoti Mardan, panels which might be described as Gandhāra primitives, since the style appears to be rather Indian in character, with only a slight overlay of classical technique. They may well be the earliest examples of relief sculpture in Gandhāra. The relatively simple composition of these scenes, (pages 4 and 24), inhabited by rather large stocky figures with a few accessories of setting, is not far removed from the style of many early Andhra reliefs at both Sāñchī and Amarāvatī. Many details of figures and costumes are directly comparable to early Indian reliefs. The conventionalized tree forms in the panel of Buddha's Encounter with the Grasscutter (page 24) are not far removed from the treatment of similar motifs in some of the early Andhra carvings at Sāñchī. The figures in this and related panels have the same stocky proportions and rather awkwardly articulated bodies of the Sāñchī reliefs. Again, the simplicity of the composition appears more as a continuation of the Indian tradition of Bhārhut than a Roman borrowing. The Buddha's robe with its closely pleated folds seems to be derived from a draped Roman figure, but even the style of these Buddha figures is not far removed from the occasional representations of the Buddha in the re-

Yaksini, 2nd century, fine-grained schist, 15 x 5⅛, Peshawar Museum

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liefs of the Amarāvatī school. This archaic style of Gandhāra relief carving, marked by the employment of Indian forms with only a slight suggestion of classical technique, was perhaps a cooperative enterprise by both native and foreign craftsmen, in which the overall conception of the work was still predominantly Indian. It may be possible to assume the participation of sculptors from Mathurā, the southern capital of the Kushan realm. We may suppose that at exactly the same time other reliefs were already being carved in a truly classical style and that thereafter, presumably through most of the 2nd century A.D., Gandhāra sculpture assumed an almost completely classical character modelled on prototypes of the Hadrianic and Antonine periods in Rome. Even more Indian, and presumably belonging to this same period of the late 1st century A.D., are the panels with female figures, (pages 25 and 26) from Mardan.

This archaic Indian phase of Gandhāra relief sculpture appears to be succeeded by a series of styles that offer very close parallels to developments in Roman art of the Imperial period. The earliest of these classical reliefs bear a close resemblance to the type of carving evolved in Rome in the first three quarters of the 1st century A.D.; that is, from the Augustan through the Flavian periods. In this type the figures are more or less isolated and separated against the plain background.[19] A somewhat later series of carvings suggests the Roman manner of Trajanic and Hadrianic periods (ca. 98-138 A.D.), in which the figures are grouped in easy conversational attitudes, and the employment of a certain amount of overlapping gives an effect of spatial depth. (pages 27, 52)[20] These earliest types of Gandhāra relief must belong to a period of ca. 75-125 A.D. The world of the 1st century

Yaksini and Palm-tree, 2nd century, schist, 19¾ x 6⅛, Lahore, Central Museum

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was a small one, and since, in spite of the primitive methods of travel, communications were very quick, it is not necessary to assume a great time lag between the appearance of a technique in Rome and its transmission to the provinces and, ultimately, to India. It is logical to suppose, therefore, that sculptural fashions popular in Rome might have found their way to Gandhāra within a very few years. The Gandhāra parallels with Roman reliefs continue with the appearance of the deeply undercut illusionistic technique developed in Rome under the Antonines and Severids (ca. 138-217 A.D.) (page 28) if the very earliest of these styles reached Gandhāra in the last quarter of the 1st century A.D. through the intervention of Roman journeymen

"Buddha and the Black Serpent of Rajagriha", 2nd century, schist, 12⅝ x 20½, Lahore, Central Museum

Frieze, with inhabited grapevine pattern, 2nd-3rd century, schist, height: 7", Peshawar Museum

and craftsmen, the latest style presumably made its appearance towards the close of the 2nd century A.D.

Typical of the first classical phase of Gandhāra relief sculpture are some of the beautiful panels from Hoti Mardan in the Archaeological Museum at Peshawar, (pages 29, 42 and 45). The arrangement of the figures and the costumes of the female donors on page 42 are the Indian counterparts of the style of relief found in such Roman monuments as the friezes from the forum of Nerva.[42] The very refinement of the carving suggests an early date and a direct link with Roman craftsmanship. Not only the disposition of the costume but also the incised linealized technique of the drapery itself appear close to this Flavian precedent. The actual arrangement of the figures against a plain background and related to one another by their poses and lateral gestures provides another parallel with the Roman frieze. The reliefs of the Demon Army of Mara (pages 30 and 55) and the intricately carved panel of the Miracle in the Fire Temple (page 54), both in the Central Museum of Lahore, illustrate the final phase in the development of Gandhāra relief sculpture. In these panels the dense massing of the forms and the deep undercutting are strongly reminiscent of the great battle sarcophagi of the 2nd century A.D. In the panel of the Fire Miracle the figures in the relief are carved in such a way that the ensemble presents a satisfactory point of view with the figures in a deep spatial ambient, whether viewed directly from in front or from an angle to the right or left of the central axis. This technique of anamorphosis, or distortion for the sake of optical illusionism, appears to have been a special Gandhāra development out of the methods of the later Roman styles of relief carving.

Buddhist monks, late 1st century, fine-grained schist, 13 x 5½, Lahore, Central Museum

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In the Gandhāra reliefs the iconography of some scenes, such as the Enlightenment (page 31), with the throne beneath the Bodhi tree, was already established in earlier Indian art, in which the seat, of course, remained empty as a symbol of Śākyamuni's presence.[22] It required only the insertion of a seated Buddha figure on the *Vajrāsana* to adapt the composition to the new anthropomorphic treatment of the legend. Almost all the other episodes, however, are creations of the Gandhāra sculptors, sometimes on the basis of compositional prototypes existing in Roman reliefs.

Classical Motifs in Gandhāra Art

It is not surprising in view of its intimate contact with the Classical world of the Mediterranean that Gandhāra art should have borrowed a number of entirely pagan motifs. These forms were introduced either by travelling artisans or they were copied from imported artifacts. The motif of the garland-bearing erotes so universally employed in both early Christian and Roman sarcophagi is a familiar one: it may be seen both in the Miran wall-paintings (fig. 12), on the Kanishka reliquary (fig. 9) and in relief sculpture, too (page 53).

Another favorite is the vine scroll illustrated by an example from Sāhri Bahlol (page 28). In the West the popularity of the vine pattern is a part of the revived Bacchic mysticism under the Caesars. This motif of the vine enclosing human and animal figures is of Hellenistic origin and makes its appearance in Rome as early as the Flavian period. The frieze from Sāhri Bahlol is very deeply cut so that the black-and-white effect of the carving is distinctly reminiscent of third century Roman relief as in the similar design of the pilasters of the basilica at Leptis Magna.[24]

"Soldiers from the Host of Mara", 2nd century, fine-grained schist, 13 x 5½, Lahore, Central Museum

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"The Temptation of Mara", late 1st century, schist, 15¼ x 20, Peshawar Museum

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Torso of an Atlantid, from Sikri
2nd-3rd century, schist
height: 9⅛"
Lahore, Central Museum

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In Gandhāra the nearest approach to the type of erotic subject matter favored in Roman painting and sculpture is the base with a carousal of maenads and silenai (page 33). The seated female figures recall the types favored in the so-called Nereid Sacrophagi of the second and third centuries.[25]

Another Roman borrowing is the atlantid, which is found in great numbers in both stone and stucco sculpture. A splendid example in the Lahore Museum (page 32) will serve to illustrate the Gandhāra sculptor's treatment of the male nude in these supporting figures. One has the feeling in studying this fragment that the anatomy is carved with considerable feeling for the beauty of the bodily articulation, akin to actual examples of Roman sculpture of the Antonine period or later. The Classical prototypes for the Gandhāra atlantids is to be found in such Hellenistic examples as the Silenai serving as caryatids in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens.[26]

The most famous example of the import of pagan types is the so-called Pallas Athena of Lahore (page 10) which may perhaps with even more likelihood be identified as the deified Rome: the goddess Roma appears on the coins of the Kushan emperor Huvishka[27] and her

Bacchanal, 2nd century, schist, 9⅞ x 20½, Lahore, Central Museum

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Ascetic, 2nd century
schist, height: 10¼"
Lahore, Central Museum

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presence testifies to the syncretic political character of the Kushan religion as well as to the diplomatic and commercial connections with the Roman West. The goddess is represented with a helmet and spear and may originally have held a shield in her right hand. The dress and pose as well as the drapery style is reminiscent of figures in the reliefs of the Forum of Nerva.[28] A date in the mid-second century A.D. would not be out of order, since it is unlikely that the cult of Roma should have found its way to the East before her establishment as Dea Romae Aeternae by Hadrian in the Temple of Venus and Rome.

It should be pointed out that with the possible exception of the Athena-Roma statue all of these Graeco-Roman types are only decorative, so that it seems unlikely, for example, that the vine scroll represents an intrusion of Dionysian cults to India.

Stucco Sculpture

The technique of stucco sculpture was probably introduced to Gandhāra as early as the 1st century A.D. from Alexandria, where in the late Hellenistic period it had been used to replace expensive marble. Some of the heads from the Parthian Period at Taxila are reflections of Roman sculpture of the period of Augustus. It seems likely that at sites like Taxila and the famous monasteries of Hadda in Afghanistan stucco or lime plaster began to be used for Buddhist sculpture just as early as carving in slate, and that with the decline of Kushan power in the 3rd century it gradually replaced stone entirely.[29] The heads of the stucco images were sometimes made with moulds, sometimes modelled freehand. The medium is lime plaster mixed with small stones and chopped straw or animal hair and covered with an outer layer of finely sieved plaster, which was originally covered with polychromy and gilt. The bodies of the larger images were often made simply of local clay, which crumbled long before the more durable stucco heads. But some fairly large reliefs were modelled entirely of lime plaster for attachment to the walls of religious buildings.

The types of Gandhāra stucco sculpture reflect Hellenistic and Roman precedents just as closely as their counterparts in stone (fig. 10)

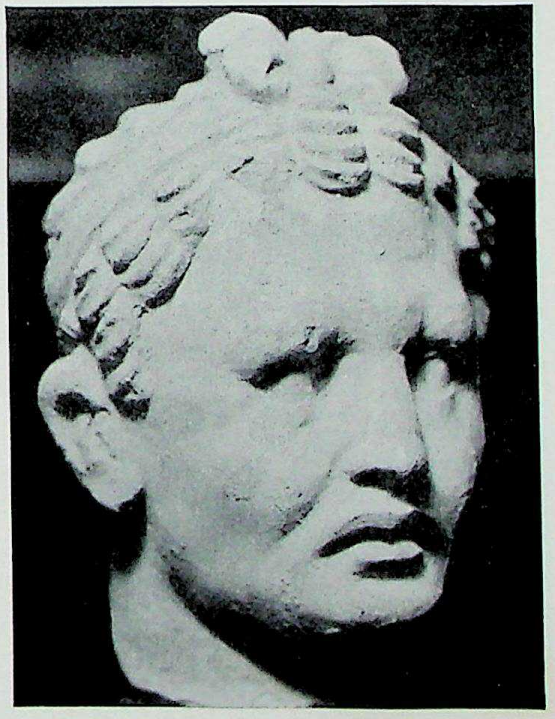

Fig. 10: Head, 2nd-3rd century, stucco, The Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City

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Fig. 11: Head of a Devata, 2nd-3rd century, stucco, height: 7", Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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Generally, the examples in stucco sculpture are more interesting, owing to the more malleable nature of the medium. Many of the heads, especially those of lay personages, are marked by a passionate intensity of expression approximating the dramatic realism of later Roman sculpture.[30] Sometimes the combination of a modified naturalism with a passionate tenderness of expression and a kind of spiritualized pathos approximates the style of Gothic art in the West. It seems possible that this emphasis on the humanity and personality in these heads is at once a reflection of late classical art and an appropriate expression of the later Buddhist cults of salvation, in which the promise of survival in paradise for the individual was as much a possibility as the hope of heaven for man in the mystic Christianity of the Gothic period, a period which witnessed a similar transmutation of classical forms for spiritual needs. (fig. 11)

In stucco sculpture the same development towards Indianization takes place as in the stone sculpture of Gandhāra. The heads, especially those of the orthodox deities, become more masklike, and in the complete figures the once classically organized drapery is reduced to a linear formula. In some of the later examples of stucco sculpture the forms take on a fullness and sensuous warmth of expression that closely approximate the ideals of Indian art of the Gupta period.

Painting

So little Gandhāra painting has survived that nothing can be said about it from the point of view of a chronological stylistic development. Such examples as we have seem to reflect the same adaptation of late Antique formulae as were evident in sculpture. The painted decoration of a niche from Hadda reveals figures in a style not unlike the early Christian wall-paintings of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. The most complete cycle of Gandhāra painting, actually in Central Asia, is the wall-paintings of a stupa in Miran, now in the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities in New Delhi.[32] The representation of *Jātaka* scenes suggests the treatment of these themes in Gandhāra sculpture, and the painted frieze of garland-bearing erotes and busts of angels and celestial musicians are reflections of the type of late Roman paintings to be seen at Palmyra and Dura Europos, a style in which the originally illusionistic modelling of the forms has been reduced to an arbitrary thickening of the contours (fig. 12). The figures have very much the same dryness and already conventionalized classicism which we discern in the sculpture of Gandhāra.

The famous examples of the wall-paintings at Bāmiyān belong to a relatively late period and are provincial variants of Indian and Sasanian styles.[33] The Sasanian decorations, such as the sun god above the head of the 120-foot Buddha and the painted imitation of the textiles in Group D, are probably the work of Iranian artists in the service of Buddhism in the centuries after the Sasanian conquest of the 3rd century A.D.[34] The niche of the 175-foot Buddha contains representations of multiple Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. In their refined sensuous elegance and massive bodily proportions these figures appear as provincial reflections of the style of Gupta India.[35]

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Fig. 12: Wall-painting from Miran, Central Asia, 3rd century, Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, New Delhi

Architecture

In the architecture of Gandhāra we can observe something of the same imposition of classical and Near Eastern forms on an essentially Indian framework that is notable in the sculpture.

The decoration of the Buddhist monuments of Gandhāra included a free adaptation of the classical orders. Whereas in a few non-Buddhist buildings at Taxila, such as the Fire Temple at Jandial of the Śaka period, Ionic pillars and capitals were used, the Corinthian order predominates in the majority of stupas and vihāras of the Kushan period. These Corinthian capitals have nothing to do with the truly organic composition of the classical original (fig. 13). The acanthus leaves, caly cups, and helical spirals

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are attached in a completely superficial fashion to a core that is essentially the bracket capital of the early Indian tradition. Sometimes in imitation of the Roman composite order figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are enframed in the acanthus foliage.

Generally speaking, the Gandhāra stupa is a magnification of the earlier type of relic mound represented by the monuments of Sāñchī and Bhārhut. The typical Gandhāra stupa consists of one or more square basement storeys surmounted by a high drum supporting the usual hemispherical cupola (fig. 14). Judged by the small models of Gandhāra stupas, the emphasis was on the superstructure with an elaborate *harmikā* upholding a mast with multiple umbrellas. Although some Gandhāra stupas, such as the Kunala stupa at Taxila, were mentioned as Mauryan foundations by the Chinese pilgrims, it is reasonably certain that the vast majority of these monuments, as well as the monastic establishments with which they were associated, were dedicated during the extraordinary period of patronage accorded to Buddhism under the Great Kushan dynasty. From ancient Bactria to Taxila, in the remote valleys around Jelalabad and the wild glens of Swat and Buner, there can still be seen the ruinous piles of literally scores of Buddhist relic mounds, many of which can be identified with the famous sites mentioned by Sung Yün and Hsüan Tsang.

The main mass of the Gandhāra stupa was generally a conglomerate of rubble and earth, over which was placed a facing of roughly shaped stones with many small courses of stones

Fig. 13: Corinthian capital, 2nd-3rd century, gray slate, British Museum, London

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Fig. 14: Miniature Stupa, from Loriyan Tangai, 2nd-3rd century, slate, Indian Museum, Calcutta

or sneeks filling the interstices between these boulders. The relics were embedded in the mass of the building, sometimes in the deepest foundations and sometimes in a chamber on a level with the drum. The Gandhāra stupa differs from its early Indian precedents in that the decoration has been transferred from the railing and *toranas* to the body of the monument itself. The base and drum of the Gandhāra stupa were completely encased in a sculptural revetment carried out in stucco or lime plaster. The decoration consisted of panels of scenes from the life of Buddha, separated by pilasters of a classical type, or in some of the later stupas figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas framed in the niches of a continuous arcade surrounding the body of the monument.

It is not entirely certain whether these multiple statues are to be taken as an indication of the Mahāyāna character of these monuments. The question is whether they represent the universal Buddhas of all the quarters or if this duplication of Buddha images may simply indicate many separate donations or the conception, quite possible for Hinayāna Buddhism, of the same Buddha seen everywhere at once. It is possible, of course, that like the chapels dedicated to Christ and the saints in the apse of the mediaeval cathedral we have personifications of different aspects of the same Buddha in the successive niches surrounding the relic mound. It is of course on the basis of such prototypes that there developed the later decoration of Mahāyāna stupas, like those of Nālandā or Barabudur, in which the Buddhas of all the directions in their niches on different sides of the monument replace the Hinayāna figuration of multiplied statues of Śākyamuni.

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In the arcades of the Gandhāra stupas the supports of the arches are engaged Ionic or Corinthian pilasters. The arches themselves are of the pointed ogee leaf-shaped type that had been developed in the *chaitya* window of earlier Indian periods. A further classical feature of some of the larger stupas is the base, supported by atlantids or couchant lions.

Famous in the annals of Gandhāra is the stupa raised by King Kanishka at Peshawar. The accounts of its vast dimensions and the miraculous portents during its construction vary in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, Sung Yün and Hsüan Tsang, who saw it in the 6th and 7th centuries.[36] According to the former, it was 700 feet high and surmounted by an iron mast upholding thirteen golden circlets. One gathers from Sung Yün's account that the upper portions of the monument were constructed largely of wood. From Hsüan Tsang's description we learn that the building was at least 750 feet high, crowned by a mast with twenty-five copper umbrellas. The foundations of this great tower were excavated at the site of Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī from 1908 to 1910.[37] The plan was that of a great square 180 feet on a side with projections on each side, giving the plan a cruciform shape. The total diameter, including these projections, was 286 feet. There were presumably stairways in the four projecting wings leading to the upper levels of the base. The facade of the surviving basement storey was covered with stucco Buddha images in relief, separated by Corinthian pilasters. There are many reflections of this great stupa, as in the Rawak vihara at Khotan and the Ahinposh stupa near Jelālābād. It has also been suggested that the enormous mound at the Top-e-Rustam at Balkh was a copy of the famous building at Peshawar.[38] This structure had the same cruciform plan and consisted of three square basement storeys surmounted by a high drum. The square base was approximately 160 feet on each side, and the total height has been estimated as about 200 feet over all. It seems likely that in their original state the Kanishka stupa and the Top-e-Rustam were enormously magnified enlargements of such miniature stupas as the example from Loriyān-Tangai in the Indian Museum at Calcutta (fig. 13); and possibly the stucco model at Mohra Moradhu,[39] Taxila may reflect the appearance of this famous shrine. Notable in each case is the greater attenuation of the stupa and the emphasis on the superstructure, specifically the mast of umbrellas, a factor certainly affecting the development of the pagoda in the Far East.

The Buddhist vihara in Gandhāra represents an elaboration of the arrangement of monastic complexes in earlier periods. The basis of the plan of such a monastery as Takht-i-Bāhi was a series of corrected open courtyards surrounded either by cells for the accommodation of the brotherhood or by niches to house the cult statues and reliefs (fig. 2). Some of the courts were filled with votive stupas of various sizes; large enclosed chambers served as refectories or assemblyhalls. The monastic buildings at Taxila and elsewhere in Gandhāra were constructed of the so-called diaper masonry typical of the region, in which large stones were surrounded by courses of smaller stones. Some elements of the construction, like the heavy overhanging cornices of the niches, were imitations of prototypes in thatch. Like the exterior of the Gandhāra stupa, the entire surface of the stone fabric must have been covered originally with a

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heavy layer of lime plaster richly polychromed and gilded.

There is nothing classical about the plan of any building discovered in Gandhāra. The only possible exception is the shrine at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan, a monument dedicated to Mazdaean fire worship and arranged according to the plan of similar sanctuaries in Iran of Parthian or Sasanian time.[40] It is the one monument testifying to the diversity of beliefs followed under the Kushans.

There are further interesting reflections of Western elements in the rock-cut architecture of the cave temples at Bāmiyān. One of the chapels behind the 175-foot Buddha has a coffered dome that might have been inspired by the vaults of the Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek.[41] In a number of the assemblyhalls we find an imitation of the familiar squinch of Sasanian domical architecture.

Conclusion

Although it has been necessary to stress its classical, rather than its Indian aspects in order to indicate the origin of both form and technique, Gandhāra art is not important primarily as an illustration of a Roman conquest of the East. Actually, the forms of Roman art were themselves conquered in their absorption into the mainstream of the Indian and, ultimately, Asiatic traditions of Buddhist art. Gandhāra is important not so much for any aesthetic reasons, but for its positive contributions of the anthropomorphic conception of the Buddha and, through an adaptation of the Roman narrative method of relief, the establishment of a fixed iconography for the Buddha legend. When both of these contributions came to be translated into more appropriately abstract and spiritualized terms, they provided models for the Buddhist art of all of Asia.

Benjamin Rowland, Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960

Group of Donors, (stair-riser), 1st century, from the Guide's Mess at Hoti Mardan, steatite, 5½ x 17⅝. Peshawar Museum

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NOTES:

1. A summary of the evidence on the date of Kanishka may be found in H. Deydier, *Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhāra,* Paris, 1950.
2. For the Chinese pilgrims, see S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* 2 vols., London, 1906.
3. For the principal Gandhāra sites and their bibliography, see Deydier, pp. 29 ff. Mention should also be made of Sir John Marshall's monumental work, *Taxila,* 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951.
4. See *Illustrated London News,* February 7, 1959.
5. *Cf.* Sir M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers,* London, 1954.
6. J. Hackin and others, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram, Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan,* Tome XI, Paris, 1954.
7. P. Gardner, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India,* London, 1886, Pl. XXVI-XXVIII and M. A. Stein, "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins," *Oriental and Babylonian Record,* August 1887. It is possible that some of the ruined statues discovered at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan may have been representations of Greek or Iranian deities. *Cf.* Schlumberger, "Le temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane," *Journal Asiatique,* 1952, p. 552 and 1955, pp. 276-7.
8. H. Buchtal, "The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture," *Proceedings of the British Academy,* XXXI, 1945, pp. 8-9.
9. Gardner, Pl. XXVI, 8.
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27. Gardner, Pl. XXVIII, 20.
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29. *Cf.* Sir John Marshall, *Taxila* and J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Hadda, Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan,* Tome III, Paris, 1930.
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40. P. Schlumberger, "Le temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane," *Journal Asiatique,* Paris, 1952, 1955.
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"Anathapindada presents the Jetavana Park to the Buddha", late 1st century, schist, 8 x 13⅞, Peshawar Museum

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Toilet Tray, 1st century, from Sirkap, Taxila, schist, diameter: 3⅛", Karachi, National Museum

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Head of a Bodhisattva
early 2nd century
from Charsada
fine-grained schist
height: 5-15/16"
Peshawar Museum

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Colossal head of Buddha
from Sikri, 2nd century
schist, height: 16″
Lahore, Central Museum

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Head of Buddha
2nd century
stone, height: 13"
Peshawar Museum

False gable, 2nd-3rd century, schist, 28½ x 16½, Lahore, Central Museum

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The Nirvana, 2nd century, schist, 10½ x 13½, Peshawar Museum

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"Birth of Siddartha", 2nd century, schist, 13⅜ x 17¾, Lahore, Central Museum

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Fragment of a Frieze with Garland-bearing Putti, 2nd century, from Charsada, schist, h: 6½", Lahore, Central Museum

"The Ascetics of the Kasyapa Tribe endeavor to extinguish the conflagration in the Fire-Temple", 3rd century, schist, 23½ x 15¾, Lahore, Central Museum

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"The Host of Mara", 2nd century, fine-grained schist, 22⅜ x 10⅛, Lahore, Central Museum

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CATALOGUE NOTES

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(p. 13) 1. STANDING BUDDHA,
2nd century, schist
55½ x 18⅛
Lahore, Central Museum

This is the most classical type of Gandhara image. The masklike youthful features and the very hair are adapted from the Graeco-Roman type for Apollo or Aphrodite. The robe with the drapery carved in sharp parallel ridges is a provincial version of the Roman Imperial togatus *in style not unlike the formalization seen in the sculpture of Palmyra. On the plinth is represented the Adoration of a Reliquary.*

(p. 48) 2. COLOSSAL HEAD OF BUDDHA
2nd century, schist
height: 16"
Lahore, Central Museum

This is the usual Apollonian type. It will be noted that, following Roman practice, the iris and pupil of the eye are incised.

(p. 49) 3. HEAD OF BUDDHA,
2nd century, stone
13 x 7-1/16
Peshawar Museum

The mask of the face has evidently been broken off and reattached to the head.

(p. 21) 4. STATUETTE of a Bodhisattva,
perhaps Siddartha.
2nd-3rd century,
schist, from Sahri-Bahlol
18⅛ x 7½
Lahore, Central Museum

It may be that these personages in royal dress are donors in the guise of gods or Bodhisattvas. The folds of the pleated drapery recall Roman work of the early Imperial period, whereas the rendering of the soft, expansive bodily form appears more Indian. The convention of forked folds in the drapery anticipates a mannerism notable in the earliest Chinese Buddhist sculpture at Yun Kang.

(p. 22) 5. BODHISATTVA,
2nd century, schist
40⅛ x 15
Lahore, Central Museum

The figure wears the dress characteristic of the representations of these sainted royal personages: a skirt or dhoti arranged in swallow-tail folds reminiscent of Roman archaistic reliefs and a shawl depending from the left shoulder partially clothing the upper part of the body and held down at the left by a heavy weight. The necklaces and armlets are suggestive of Classical and Sarmatian metalwork. The amulet boxes, strung across the torso, are an inheritance from much earlier Indian reliance on magic charms. On the pedestal is represented the adoration of a fire-altar, suggesting the syncretic nature of Buddhism under the Kushans.

(p. 47) 6. HEAD of a Bodhisattva,
early 2nd century
fine-grained schist
height: 5-15/16"
Peshawar Museum

This beautiful head is another illustration of the adaptation of the Apollo type for religious images in Gandhara. The carving is of an unusual sensitivity and may well indicate the participation of a Roman hand.

(p. 24) 7. "THE OFFERING of Grass"
late 1st century
from Buner, schist,
height: 15⅝
Peshawar Museum

This is one of another set of larger relief panels formerly in the Guides' Mess at Hoti Mardan. The style of the carving with the robust stocky figures and incised definition of the drapery folds is reminiscent of earlier Indian carving at Bharhut. The isolation of the figures against the plain background belongs to the earliest phase of Gandhara sculpture. Although the events in this series takes place before the Illumination, Sakyamuni is invariably represented wearing the monastic robe and with a distinctively prominent usnisa. This panel is an illustration of the legend of the grasscutter's swastika, really the god Indra in disguise, who approached to offer the Bodhisattva a handful of straws to spread as a seat for his meditation under the bodhi tree. Siddhartha, accompanied by his guardian angel Vajrapani, approaches from the left. The latter is identified by the thunderbolt or vajra.

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(p. 4) 8. SAKYAMUNI's First Meeting with a Brahmin.
late 1st century
schist, 15½ x 19½
Peshawar Museum

The Buddha accompanied by Vajrapani consults a Brahmin ascetic to find the solution to his problems. Although this is one of the scenes prior to the Enlightenment, Sakyamuni is already represented as a Buddha. This panel is part of the same series as Number 7. This primitive Gandhara style has many points in common with Early Andhra sculpture, notably at Sanchi and Amaravati: note, for example, the stocky proportions of the figures and the archaic linear definition of the drapery.

(p. 42) 9. GROUP OF DONORS,
1st century
steatite,
5½ x 17⅝
Peshawar Museum

On this stair-riser are representations of donors in the semi-classical costume of the region in Kushan times. The drapery style and the placing of the figures against a plain background suggest Roman reliefs of the Flavian period. The goblets and pictures represented in the panel are the same type as actual metal objects found in the Parthian level at Taxila.

(p. 29) 10. BUDDHIST MONKS,
late 1st century
fine-grained schist,
8¼ x 7⅜
Peshawar Museum

The central figure wearing a pallium is reminiscent of the famous Sophocles of the Lateran. Both the style of the drapery and the arrangement of the two tiers of the figures in shallow relief are reminiscent of the Ara Pacis.

(p. 45) 11. ANATHAPINDADA presents the Jetavana Park to the Buddha
late 1st century
schist, 8 x 13⅞
Peshawar Museum

This panel in the style of its drapery and in the isolation of the figures against the background is suggestive of Roman reliefs of the Flavian era. It is far more Western in feeling than the panels formerly in the same collection, Nos. 7, 8, etc.

(p. 52) 12. BIRTH of Siddartha
2nd century
schist, 13⅜ x 17¾
Lahore, Central Museum

Queen Maya supports herself by grasping the branch of a sal tree. The future Buddha emerges from her side to be received in a napkin by the god Brahma. Indra also appears as an attendant at the left. The style of the relief appears almost like a combination of the illusionistic method of Flavian Rome and the carvings at Sanchi, in which the figures emerge from a deeply carved enshadowed background.

(p. 27) 13. BUDDHA and the Black Serpent of Rajagriha
2nd century, schist
12⅝ x 20½
Lahore, Central Museum

This is an illustration of the miracle in which the Buddha tamed a vicious serpent, actually the reincarnation of the spirit of a miser, and presented it in his alms-bowl to King Bimbisara.
The style of the relief with the figures arranged in related groups with a considerable use of overlapping is reminiscent of Roman relief of the Hadrianic style. The device of hieratic scaling, in which the principal personage appears in larger size than his attendants, is common to both Gandhara and late Antique art.

(p. 55) 14. THE HOST OF MARA,
2nd century
schist, 22⅜ x 10⅛
Lahore, Central Museum

A fragment of a large panel of the Temptation of Buddha with a defile of Mara's soldiers and demons. The "bestial" nature of these fiends is indicated by their animal heads. The warriors carry the typical Kushan weapons, swords and spears. Two of the warriors wear scale armor. As so often, the types of these Gandhara demons appear to anticipate the evil ones in Gothic art.

(p. 30) 15. TWO SOLDIERS from the Host of Mara,
fine-grained schist,
13 x 5½
Lahore, Central Museum

The figure at the left is carved in such a way that it presents a completely frontal view when seen from the side to the left, and a three-quarter's view when observed directly from the front. This is a device intended to present optically complete views from any angle, a technique that obviously leads to a distortion of the forms.

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(p. 54) 16. THE ASCETICS of the Kasyapa Tribe Endeavor to Extinguish the Conflagration in the Fire Temple, 3rd century, schist 23½ x 15¾ Lahore, Central Museum

This is one of the episodes from a series of miracles performed by Buddha at Uruvilva to convert the Kasyapas. Sakyamuni created the illusion of flames destroying the shrine of the heretics, into which he himself had retired. The style of relief with its great depth of carving and multiple figures moving in and out of spatial depth is suggestive of the Antonine battle sarcophagi in Roman sculpture. It will be noted that optical correction or animaphosis is employed, so that the figures present a pictorially and spatially satisfactory arrangement from any angle.

(p. 31) 17. THE TEMPTATION of Mara, late 1st century probably from Buner, schist, 15¼ x 20 Peshawar Museum

In this panel Sakyamuni calls on the earth goddess to witness his right to take his seat under the wisdom tree. The Buddhist Satan, Mara, who endeavors to foil Sakyamuni's attainment of Buddhahood, retires discomfited with his host of demons. Two soldiers lie helpless, thunderstruck, before the Bodhi throne. The soldiers in this panel wear tunics and pantaloons reminiscent of Parthian dress.

(p. 28) 18. FRIEZE with Inhabited Grapevine Pattern, 2nd-3rd century, schist height: 7" from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum

The motif of the spiralling vine filled with human figures and animals is frequent in Roman art of the Antonine period and later. There are close parallels in the Baths of Caracella, at Leptis Magna, and on the Bacchus Temple at Baalbek.

(p. 50) 19. FALSE GABLE, 2nd-3rd century schist, 28½ x 16½, Lahore, Central Museum

This is a complete false gable. At the top is the Adoration of the Alms Bowl, and below it the Visit of Indra. Next comes a panel of the Buddha flanked by worshippers, and in the lowest zone the Great Departure. The representation of the Buddha's horse in complete foreshortening is an evident imitation of the pictorial effects of Western relief styles.

(p. 17) 20. THE OFFERING of the Four Bowls, early 2nd century, schist, 9-1/16 x 10⅝ Lahore, Central Museum

This is the episode in which the Guardians of the Four Quarters, the Lokapalas, each offer the Buddha a bowl. Sakyamuni by a miracle fuses the four offerings into one as a symbol of his dominion over the entire united universe. The style recalls the series of reliefs from Hoti Mardan.

(p. 51) 21. THE NIRVANA, 2nd century, schist 10½ x 13½, Peshawar Museum

The Buddha lies extended on his deathbed, attended by Varjrapani at the left and the favorite disciple Ananda. At the foot of the couch is Mahakasyapa. Behind the dying Sakyamuni are the mourning Malla chiefs.
The Buddha, although reclining, is shown with the drapery of a standing figure. The garments of the mourning figures below the couch are distinctly reminiscent of the style of the Palmyra grave portraits. The relief has suffered severe damage since it was first reproduced in Foucher's Art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara, *I, fig.* 276.

(p. 9) 22. HEAD OF A DONOR (Monk ?) 2nd-3rd century, from Sahri Bahlol, schist 11½ x 7⅛ Peshawar Museum

This extraordinarily realistic portrait is a representation of a donor and is thought to have been a companion piece to the royal female statue found at the same site. The profile is somewhat suggestive of the portraits of the Kushan emperor Huvishka on his coins.
The abstract style and the air of sadness about the face recall the spirituality and tension that marked Imperial Roman portraits in the twilight of the Western world, notably in the period from 250 A.D. and later.

(p. 32) 23. TORSO of an Atlantid, 2nd-3rd century, schist, from Sikri, schist, height: 9⅛" Lahore, Central Museum

The facial type, as well as the treatment of hair and beard, suggests precedents in the Graeco-Roman conception of Hercules. This is one of the few Gandhara figures that reveals at least some feeling for the organic modelling of the human form.

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(p. 34) 24. ASCETIC,
2nd century, schist
height: 10¼"
Lahore, Central Museum

This figure is perhaps a representation of one of the Kasyapas. The anatomy in the brutal definition of the emaciated torso shows a realism suggestive of the Graeco-Roman school of Alexandria. The head has something of the moving expressionistic quality of the portrait of a monk, No. 22.

25. YAKSINI,
2nd century, schist,
8⅝ x 3¾
Lahore, Central Museum

A yaksini is placed in a tall rectangular panel with a bead-and-real moulding. Above is an elaborate Persepolitan capital. The figures itself is reminiscent of Indian prototypes at Sanchi and Bharhut.

(p. 26) 26. YAKSINI and Palm Tree,
2nd century, schist,
19¾ x 6⅛
Lahore, Central Museum

The figure, particularly in the type of necklace and garment, resembles some of the royal portrait statues from Hatra.

(p. 25) 27. YAKSINI,
2nd century,
fine-grained schist,
15 x 5⅛
Peshawar Museum

The figure carries a shield and spear and may well have been intended to represent a female dvarapala or guard.

28. CAPITAL of Engaged Column,
2nd century, schist,
5⅞ x 25⅝
Lahore, Central Museum

This fragment is typical of the conventional type of Corinthian capital used in Gandhara, with a small figure of Buddha seated in the center of the member. The dry carving of the acanthus foliage suggests many parallels in the architectural decoration of the Eastern Roman Empire.

29. PANEL, with Engaged Pilaster surmounted by Corinthian Capital,
2nd century, schist,
13⅜ x 4¾
Peshawar Museum

30. PANEL, with Engaged Column surmounted by Capital with Addorsed Bulls of Persepolitan Type,
2nd century, schist,
14-9/16 x 4⅞
Peshawar Museum

(p. 10) 31. ATHENA, or Roma,
2nd century,
fine-grained schist,
height: 32¾"
Lahore, Central Museum

This famous figure of a female with a helmet and spear was once identified as Pallas Athena, although some have suggested that it represents a yavana, or foreign female bodyguard of an Indian sovereign. It is possible that the figure actually represents the personified Roma as seen on the coins of Huvishka.

(p. 33) 32. BACCHANAL,
2nd century,
schist,
9⅞ x 20½
Lahore, Central Museum

This relief framed in lion's paws was evidently the base of a statue. Represented is a bacchanalian scene with maenads seated on the laps of ivy-crowned silenai.

(p. 53) 33. FRAGMENT of a Frieze with Garland-bearing Putti,
2nd century, schist,
from Charsada,
height: 6½"
Lahore, Central Museum

The motif of amorini carrying a wreath is frequent in the decoration of both Roman and early Christian sarcophagi. This same form, even to the winged deities in the swags of the garland, is to be seen in the frescoes from Miran in Central Asia. The motif of the putto extracting a thorn from his foot is also found in the Miran cycle and in the relic casket of Kanishka.

(p. 46) 34. TOILET TRAY,
1st century, schist,
from Sirkap, Taxila
diameter: 3⅛"
Karachi, National Museum

The relief represents a semi-nude female riding a marine monster. The object has an inscription "of Majumina."

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35. HEAD OF BUDDHA, 2nd century, fine-grained schist, 13¾ x 9-1/16 Lahore, Central Museum

36. BODHISATTVA Maitreya, 2nd-3rd century, schist, height: 13" Lahore, Central Museum

The Buddha of the Future may be recognized by the lota or Brahmin's water-bottle held in the left hand.

37. HEAD of a Bodhisattva, 2nd century, schist, 8¼ x 5½ Peshawar Museum

38. HEAD of Bodhisattva, 2nd-3rd century, schist, height: 8¾" Lahore, Central Museum

Notable is the turban with its elaborate crest. The moustache is perhaps an indication that this is an idealized portrait of a Kushan personage.

39. THE INTERPRETATION of Maya's Dream, 2nd century, schist, from Sikri, 7-1/16 x 11-13/16 Lahore, Central Museum

The sage Asita is placed in the compartment to the left. In the center enthroned are King Suddhodana and Queen Maya, the parents of the future Buddha.

40. THE INTERPRETATION of Maya's Dream fine-grained schist, probably from Buner, height: 5⅜" Peshawar Museum

This beautiful relief is one of a series formerly in the mess-hall of the Queen's Own Guides at Hoti Mardan, where it and many others were built into the fireplace. It may be seen by comparison with earlier photographs that the surface has greatly deteriorated through the application of paint or shoe-blacking. In this panel King Suddhodana is seated in the center between the sages Asita and Naradatta. Attendants with fly-whisks appear in the background.

41. THE SEVEN STEPS, probably from Buner, schist, height: 5⅞" Peshawar Museum

The miracle from the nativity cycle represents the future Buddha, attended by Brahma and Indra, taking seven steps to the four directions, the zenith and the nadir to assert his dominion over the cosmos.

42. THE BATH of the New Born Siddartha, Probably from Buner, fine-grained schist, 10⅜ x 16 Lahore, Central Museum

Indra and Brahma pour water over the child who is upheld by two women. Two other unidentified gods are present. The attendants wear the same costumes as the Gandhara Bodhisattva with closely-pleated folds. The columns enframing this and other related panels are of a modified Corinthian type.

43. SLEEPING WOMAN, early 2nd century, schist, from the Dharmarajika stupa, Taxila, schist, height: 2" Taxila Museum

The figure is probably a musician from a panel representing the sleep of Siddhartha's harem at the time of the Great Departure.

44. CHANDAKA and Kanthaka, the Buddha's Groom and Horse, return after Siddartha's Flight to Kapilavastu, schist, height: 14½" Lahore, Central Museum

It will be noted that Chandaka bears Siddhartha's turban and royal umbrella as tokens of the Great Departure.

45. ADORATION of the Buddha's Turban, fine-grained schist, height: 15⅛" Peshawar Museum

The panel represents the worship of the Bodhisattva's turban in the Heaven of the thirty-three Gods. Indra is probably to be recognized in the figure to the right.

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46. GIFT of Bimbisara (?)
2nd century, schist
10⅝ x 12⅝
Lahore, Central Museum

47. THE STATE ELEPHANT is brought to Siddartha,
late 1st century,
fine-grained schist,
height: 15½"
Peshawar Museum

Fragment of a relief illustrating the triumphal return of the Bodhisattva from the contests held at the time of his wedding.

48. LUNETTE, with unidentified Scene, 2nd century, schist,
11 x 20½,
Lahore, Central Museum

49. THE BIER of the Buddha,
2nd century, from Sanghao,
schist, 11½ x 13,
Lahore, Central Museum

The preparation of the Buddha's body for cremation. It was wound in 500 layers of cotton and placed, as is shown here, in an iron coffin filled with oil. The figure at the right with a torch is probably Subhadra, the Buddha's last disciple.

50. FRAGMENT of a False Gable,
2nd century, schist, from Mohammed Nari,
33'-9½" x 12⅞"
Lahore, Central Museum

The scenes represented from top to bottom are as follows: 1) Buddha and worshippers, 2) Buddha and worshippers, 3) Buddha and the white dog, 4) Measuring the Buddha, 5) Buddha and monks. To the left are small panels representing pairs of erotes in various athletic activities: boxing, wrestling, etc. This slab is probably part of a decoration in the form of a blind window or door attached to a stupa or part of the revetment of a monastic building.

51. FRAGMENT of a False Gable,
from Sikri, 2nd century,
schist, 10½ x 14⅛
Lahore, Central Museum

The upper panel shows the Buddha surrounded by worshippers. In the lower zone is the Buddha Dipankara, and prostrate at his feet the student Megha who in a future incarnation was to be born as the Buddha Sakyamuni.

52. LUNETTE,
2nd-3rd century,
schist, 26 x 24-13/16
Lahore, Central Museum

In the central zone is the Buddha's First Preaching; in the next compartment the Adoration of the Buddha; and above, the Adoration of the Buddha's Begging Bowl, with snake-tailed marine deities filling the angles of the space. This type of ogee-shaped lunette, divided into a number of crescent-shaped spaces like a chaitya window, was frequently used in Gandhara architecture as an over-door ornament.

53. RELIEF, with Buddhist Scenes,
2nd century, schist,
14-15/16 x 12⅝
Lahore, Central Museum

At the top is the Buddha's return from Rajagriha. The subject of the lower panel remains unidentified.

54. BASE of a Throne,
2nd century, schist,
5⅞ x 16-9/16,
Lahore, Central Museum

The fragment represents a praying female figure and a monk holding a votive lamp.

55. HAND holding a Water-Bottle,
2nd century, schist,
7½ x 2-9/16,
Peshawar Museum

56. LEFT HAND of Buddha holding a Fold of Drapery,
2nd century, from Sahri Bahlol,
schist, 14 x 4¾,
Peshawar Museum

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57. HANDS OF BUDDHA in Dharmacakra Mudra, schist, 6½ x 3½ Peshawar Museum — *These are probably fragments of a figure of Maitreya.*

58. FALSE BRACKET, with the Bust of a Woman, late 1st century, schist, from the Dharmarajika stupa, Taxila 6½ x 3½, Taxila Museum

59. FALSE BRACKET with Head of a Princely Figure, 1st century, schist, from the Dharmarajika Stupa, Taxila, Height: 8⅛" Taxila Museum

60. WINGED ATLANTID, Seated, 2nd-3rd century, schist, 5½ x 5, Lahore, Central Museum — *The ultimate prototype for human figures used in architectural supports is in such Graeco-Roman monuments as the Sileni from the proscenium of the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens. The modelling suggests the formalized conventionalization of anatomy common in 3rd-century Rome.*

61. FEMALE FIGURE playing a Vina, 2nd century, fine-grained schist, height: 15⅛" Peshawar Museum — *The figure is wearing a chiton and himation.*

62. SQUARE BASE with Indo-Corinthian Pilasters, 2nd century, schist, 9-1/16 x 3-15/16, Lahore, Central Museum — *On the sides of these fragments are scenes representing the Adoration of the Buddha.*

63. FRIEZE with Musicians and Dancers, 2nd century, schist, 6⅜ x 25⅝, Lahore, Central Museum — *The performers are all presumably nagas and naginis. The present relief, originally a stair-riser, was probably one of a series of panels representing the rejoicing of various types of creatures at the marriage of the Bodhisattva.*

64. RELIC CASKET with Floral Motifs, 1st century, green schist, 3⅛ x 3-15/16, Taxila Museum — *This stone reliquary would probably have contained a metal box enclosing the actual relics and other precious objects.*

65. TOILET TRAY, 1st century, grey stone, from Sirkap, Taxila, diameter: 5¼" Karachi, National Museum — *The carving represents two women and a man dancing. The object appears to be of crude provincial Parthian workmanship. This type of object, apparently used for cosmetics, is also found in Alexandria.*

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